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ABSTRACT White children in our White-dominant society come early to feel that their skin color is the accepted one. If children are to have attitudes and behavior different from the general culture, they will have to be reared in a subculture of equality at home. Children should see their parents acting towards Blacks as they see them acting towards Whites. A basic step is involvement of White parents in organizations dedicated to building equality of opportunity in our society, such as employment, education, housing, etc. thereby moving society away from racism. Administrators and teachers should see that textbooks and teaching materials reflect the reality of a multi-group world. The White-ghetto outlook should be eliminated and children aided in breaking out of the white cacoon and into the world of real people. (LS)

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MICHIGAN-OHIO REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORY
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January, 1969

THE "RIGHTNESS OF WHITENESS"

The World of the White Child in a Segregated Society

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The white majority in America is achieving some understanding of the degradation heaped for generations upon Negroes through the institutions of slavery and of a caste society, with resultant stifling of Negro potential.

However, whites in general have as yet little understanding of what the discrimination and segregation of caste have done and are doing to them.

The essential problem is not bigots who need to hate, but masses of whites whose minds have been formed in a racist society, padded in illusory concepts equipped with a set of unreal presuppositions in a make-believe world.

How are minds formed to operate in a white world?

I. THE BUILDING OF THE SELF IN WHITELAND

A. The White Child's World Is White

The white child in a white milieu, with no essential break in patterns or attitudes in the home, builds into his personality a feeling of the rightness of whiteness. All major sources of his impressions reinforce each other and lead him to feel that whiteness, the way he is, is natural and standard.

White children, in our white-dominant society, come early to feel that their skin color is the same kind of mark of the kind of beings they are as are their hands, feet, eyes, and ears, etc. When they grow enough to apprehend that they are children, they accept unthinkingly that their color is just as normal, proper and right as the rest of them. They feel that their color is the way all children should be. They feel it is right, and that other skin colors, if and when they encounter them, are off-standard deviations.

Reared in a culture in which racial ideology is deeply embedded, white children learn that skin color is salient, and the white children learn that light skin colors are accepted and associated with good and honored things while darker skin colors are rejected and associated with bad, inferior, and fearful things.

The signs, language, rewards and punishments, behaviors of referent adults, peer group norms and behavior, all tell the white child that the people who matter are his color. Children note that white persons almost always hold the positions of respect and authority in the society.

In a white section of the city, in suburbia, or in the countryside (other than the South), all people except some domestic workers and lawn service workers are white.

As the white child grows, he gradually assumes an unconscious feeling of white dominance. He orients himself in a white-centric world. The white self is felt as the human norm, the right, against which all persons of other color may be judged. A white boy in a segregated society thinks of himself as representative of the universe of boys. He feels that the way he is is the essence of boyness; when he thinks of the idea of boy he thinks of

beings like himself. Girls make the same unconscious and conscious assumptions about themselves.

The effectiveness of this process of self fashioning lies in its simple absortion of what is. No child questions the syllables 'mama' to refer to his or her female parent. No child analyzes or questions the air it breathes. In a white-padded cocoon the white child grows into an acceptance of predominance of whiteness just as he grows into identification and acceptance of himself.

The basis is laid in the sense of identity and self for the emergence of feelings of superiority because of color.

B. Feelings of White Superiority

Mary Ellen Goodman painstakingly elicited concepts and feelings on race of 103 four-year-olds. Of the 46 white children she writes:

> ". . .they share a freedom from the shadow cast by color. They belong to the 'right' race, if not to the right religion or national background. They are looking down at the people under the shadow of color."[1]*

also:

> "White children ask (about Negroes) 'Why are they colored?' 'Is she sunburned?' 'Can she change?' The questions are uniform in one respect: These white children do not ask about themselves–why their own color, or lack of it. They take it completely for granted in the fashion of the 'primitive' tribesmen, that they are 'the people.' The others, those under the shadow of color, 'they're different,' as Paul put it. Being different, they are, as Diane says, 'strangers.' "

C. Feelings of Rejection of Darker Skin Colors

Kenneth Clark notes that the child adopts the attitudes of his milieu:

> "When white children in urban and rural sections of Georgia and urban areas in Tennessee were compared with children attending an all-white school in New York City, their basic attitudes were found to be the same. Students of the problem now generally accept the view that the children's attitudes toward Negroes are determined chiefly not by contact with Negroes but by contacts with the prevailing attitudes toward Negroes. It is not the Negro child, but the *idea* of the Negro child, that influences children."[2]

Over half of the white children Goodman and her staff examined through doll play, picture identification and other means, over a period of months, clearly indicate they have already achieved (as the racist institutions intend that they achieve) an emotional rejection of Negroes. There are many examples. (These children are four years old):

> "Joan says: 'black people–I hate 'em.' Stefan says he'd rather play with a white man than with a brown boy (in the picture) 'because he's white.' Later he says 'All I like is the white girl (in the picture). 'Not the black one, the white one.' "

> "Norman says of a picture of a Negro boy: 'He's a freshie.' 'Look at his face–I don't like that kind of face.' The face in question is hardly to be seen, and what

*All footnote citations appear at the end of the text.

does show looks quite an unremarkable medium brown. Vivien says the white lady 'is better than the colored lady' in the picture. Billy looks at two pictured men (both ordinary and unremarkable) and says 'A good man—and a black one.' Peter assures us proudly: 'There are no black people at my house. "[3]

Marian Radke and Helen Trager used doll houses, dolls and picture techniques to elicit children's perceptions of the social roles of Negroes and Whites. They worked with 242 kindergarten, first and second graders of the Philadelphia school. Ninety of their children were Negro, 152 were white. They conclude:

1. 38% of the white children gave interpretations in which stereotyped and inferior social roles were ascribed to Negroes.

2. 14% of the white children gave the Negro doll specific low status roles; 24% gave work roles to the Negro doll and leisure roles to the white doll.

3. The great majority of children (both Negro and white) gave the poorer house to the Negro doll and the better house to the white doll. Verbalizations indicated that they "belonged" there.

4. The children were responding in terms of general cultural stereotypes and prejudices.

5. The white doll was preferred by 89% of the white children. Their reasons indicate self-identification with the whiteness of the doll and rejection of Negroes.

6. Inferior roles are ascribed more frequently to Negroes by white children who express hostile attitudes toward Negroes.[4]

As the child grows he encounters, at various social distances, Negroes and others of different skin colors. There are many accounts of the naivete and floundering of segregated children in their efforts to understand the fact of skin color difference. The ghettoized white child sees Negroes in special locations, in limited economic and social roles; he sees them in sports, in show business, in limited ways on TV; and sees them close up in various special roles, usually not on a level of equality with his parents and his group. Many ghettoized white children know Negroes mainly as domestic servants.

II. THE GROWING MIND IN A WHITE WORLD

A. The White World of the Bible and Religion

The child accepts and imbibes what is presented by the culture. In a White-dominant culture, the symbols of religious respect, reverence and love are white. The fact that they are unthinkingly, naturally so makes them more effective as influences on the formation of attitudes and unquestioned assumptions of children.

Adam and Eve were white; white children see this in the Bible story pictures and feel that God created mankind as white men. Children are told that man was created in the image of God.

A child's world of Bible stories, often with impressive pictures, is a segregated world.

The child sees Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; sees the pictures of David and Goliath; of Joseph and his brethren; Moses and Pharoah; Noah and the Ark; the flood and the white dove; Joshua and the Battle of Jericho; Jonah and the whale; Daniel and the lion's den, and many more.

The lesson is unintentionally but effectively taught, that the important people of the Bible are white, and that God is concerned with white people. The effectiveness of the impression lies precisely in its constant unconscious presentation.

For White Christian children the central figure of their faith is pictured as a white man. Jesus is a loving father figure to countless children brought up in the Christian faith. He is seen by white Christians as white; as a man who, in earthly form, served, taught, suffered and died in a white environment. The Holy Family is a white family; the Apostles are white.

To a white child (and many adults) Heaven is white, angels and angels' wings are white; there are cherubs with happy pink faces. The great white throne of God and the chorus of angels rests upon, and is surrounded by, masses of the purest, billowy white clouds.

In a white-dominant culture purity is white; to cleanse away sin, the soul is washed white as snow. Sin and evil are black.

Although Satan is white, he is a fallen angel, and he has a black heart. White in white culture is a powerful symbol of the rightness of things, of purity, cleanliness, goodness, sweetness, of safety and beauty. White is light as well as right. To a child the dark night is likely to be felt as fearful and dangerous. Black is dirt, unclean, impurity, threatening and unpleasant. "The good guys wear white hats."

B. Santa Claus and the Dolls

Santa Claus is a symbol to Christian children of the benevolence of the Christmas season; and every child knows that Santa is a jolly, fat, white man, with twinkling blue eyes and a snow-white beard, who lives in a white snowland of the North, and he says "ho, ho, ho" endlessly over the radio and on TV at Christmas time. All his elves are white, too.

The dolls Santa brings to little white girls are white (almost always) and they look alike, reflecting the standard of beauty and attractiveness of the dominant white culture.

C. The World of Fantasy and Adventure

The white child's world of fantasy and fairies is a white world. Alice is white in a white Wonderland. A main symbol is the white rabbit, hurrying in a thoroughly white, middle-class way, to keep a nameless Kafkaesque appointment and feeling dread lest he be late.

The world of nursery rhymes is a white world. From Old Mother Hubbard, Mary and her lamb, Little Miss Muffet through Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son, The Little Old Man All Clad in Leather, all is a white world. Snow White is, of course, white, as are the dwarfs and the rescuing prince. Make no mistake, Little Boy Blue is white. All Fairyland is white, as is, despite its gaudy colors and odd shapes, the Land of Oz. Dorothy and the Wizard, Glinda the Good, the Shaggy Man, etc., are white. Jack of the Beanstalk is white and his giant, too. Cinderella is white as is her wondrous fairy godmother, and again the Prince. White children feel that all princes are white and that they should ride beautiful white horses.

For the white child the world of heroes is white. The greatly admired virtues in our culture of intrepidity and physical bravery are felt to be white virtues. The great panoply of heroes, warrior kinds, knights and fighting men is a roster of Caucasians: Prometheus, Leonides, Hercules, Achilles, Ulysses, Samson, Alexander the Great, Horatius, Beowolf, Siegfried, King Arthur, Lancelot, Charlemagne, Roland, William Tell, Robin Hood, and so on in a lengthy list, down to modern times.

Models for the giris follow the same dominant pattern.

The make-believe world of the American wild West has a hold on the imagination of youth as well as adults. In this world of Billy the Kid, Jesse James, covered wagons, cattle empires, straight shooting sheriffs, we deal with the white man's fantasy world in which white men are dominant, white values supreme. Indians, Mexicans, Orientals, and Negroes enter the script in supporting roles.

D. The World of Knowledge

If the white youth is interested in science, medicine, literature, discovery, history, conquest, invention, space, religion, nature, animals, photography, stamps, or any subject whatever, he is quite likely to read or hear about what white men have felt, thought and done. World history and the history of the United States has, up to the present decade, been presented to white children through the writings of white-minded men in and for a white-dominated culture.

E. Conclusion

Only in modern sports and in the entertainment world is the all-white pattern broken with any impact on children and youth in our caste society.

Nancy Larrick, former president of the International Reading Association and authority on children's books, says:

> ". . . most of the books children see are all white . . . There is no need to elaborate on the damage—much of it irreparable—to the Negro child's personality. But the impact of all-white books on white children is even worse. Although his white skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is kingfish. There seems little chance of developing the humility so urgently needed for world cooperation, instead of a world of conflict, as long as our children are brought up on gentle doses of racism through their books."[5]

III. THE NEGRO AS SYMBOL

White children are exposed to the racist ideas about Negroes carried by the culture.

(Available to some children are familial or other group influences which effectively counter racial ideology through example, contact, reading, visual materials, and other means. But these children are relatively few).

In many if not most white children an emotional deposit of strangeness, inferiority, rejection, and fear concerning Blacks [6] is laid long before there is "rational" content to support it.

If a group of whites are gathered for any purpose and a white walks in, it is perceived that a person has entered. (Sex, age, dress and other items of categorization may be noted.) If, however, the individual entering is of dark pigmentation, then perception will be more complex; first, fundamentally of a Negro, and then of other characteristics (man, woman, child) pertinent to purposes of the individual. Negroes are seen by whites as members of an out-group.

The emotional saliency of Negroidness to the vast majority of Whites is well known. It is the emotionality about Blacks that children so quickly sense. In addition to common over-generalization, stereotypic thinking, selectivity of perception and memory, there has occured and continues considerable projection and symbolization in the way Whites see and react to Negroes.

A. Emotionalism

In a national survey of attitudes of Whites toward Negroes conducted by William Brink and Louis Harris for Newsweek in 1963, the authors state:

> "When the white man in America looks at the Negro he is torn by a conflict between his emotions and his intellect. His intellect tells him that the Negro has indeed suffered years of discrimination, directly contradicting the American Creed of equality for all. But his emotions make him feel uneasy at the prospect of such equality for the Negro.
>
> "In the course of the interviews lasting over two hours each, some more than three, Whites were asked how they felt about contact with Negroes and why. The question released a stream of uninhibited feeling about Negroes. The violent emotionalism of many comments is striking:
>
> Comment (South) "They stink. In cafeterias here you go around and collect your food. Then Niggers paw over your food and then you have to give them a tip to carry your tray. Big old dirty black paws pawing your food, then you got to eat it."
>
> Comment (North) "I never forgot that. (His son shaking hands with a Negro.) It's the idea of rubbing up against them. It won't rub off but it don't feel right either."
>
> Comment (North) "I feel as though I can't trust them. I think they'll start a fight. I might pick up some kind of disease . . ."

B. White Stereotypes about Blacks

In this survey, ten stereotypes about Negroes were set before white people, who were asked which statements they agreed with and which they rejected. The table on page 7 reports the results from the nationwide cross-section, from the South and from a special group of those who had had social contact with Negroes. The last group, 25 percent of the total, proved throughout the survey to be the most sympathetic to the Negro cause.

C. The Negro as Sexual Symbol

Gordon Allport notes in *The Nature of Prejudice* that "in America we have in the Negro a preferred target for our sexual complexes." He states:

> "There is a subtle psychological reason why Negroid characteristics favor an association of ideas with sex. The Negro seems dark, mysterious, distant, yet at the same time warm, human and potentially accessible. Sex is forbidden; colored people are forbidden, the ideas begin to fuse. It is no accident that prejudiced people call tolerant people 'nigger lovers.' The very choice of the word suggests that they are fighting the feeling of attraction themselves.
>
> "The fact that interracial sex attraction exists is proved by the millions of mixed breeds in the country . . . The attraction is further enhanced by the fact (or Legend) that Negroes have an open and unashamed way of looking at life. Many people with supressed sex lives would like the same freedom. They grow jealous

and irritated at the openness and directness of sex life among others. They accuse the males of extreme sexual potency and the females of shamelessness. Even the size of the genitalia becomes a subject of jealous exaggeration. Fantasies easily get mixed with fact . . ."

Allport quotes Helen McLean as follows on this point:

"In calling the Negro a child of nature, simple, lovable, without ambition, a person who gives way to his every impulse, white men have made a symbol which gives a secret gratification to those who are inhibited and crippled in their instinctual satisfactions. Indeed, white men are very loath to relinquish such a symbol."[8]

"WHITE STEREOTYPES ABOUT NEGROES"

Statement	Percent Agreeing		
	Nationwide	*South*	*Previous Social Contact*
Negroes laugh a lot	68	81	79
Negroes tend to have less ambition	66	81	56
Negroes smell different	60	78	50
Negroes have looser morals	55	80	39
Negroes keep untidy homes	46	57	31
Negroes want to live off the handout	41	61	26
Negroes have less intelligence	39	60	23
Negroes breed crime	35	46	21
Negroes are inferior to whites	31	51	15
Negroes care less for the family	31	49	22

"WHITE FEELING ABOUT CONTACT WITH NEGROES"[7]

Would object to:	Percent		
	Nationwide	*South*	*Previous Social Contact*
Working next to a Negro on a job	17	31	8
Sitting next to a Negro at a lunch counter	20	50	4
Sitting next to a Negro on a bus	20	47	5
Sitting next to a Negro in a movie theater	23	54	6
Own children going to school with Negroes	23	55	9
Using same rest rooms as Negroes	24	56	9
Trying on same suit or dress that Negro had tried on in clothing store	32	57	16
Own child brings Negro friend for supper	41	76	16
Negro family as next door neighbors	51	74	26
Close friend or relative marrying a Negro	84	91	70
Own teen-age daughter dating a Negro	90	97	80

Allport indicates some of the dynamics of white male and female attitudes toward Negroes based on sexual feelings. He says of the reactions common to white men:

> "Suppose the white male is anxious concerning his own sexual inadequacy and attractiveness. One study of adult prisoners discovered a close relationship between this condition and high prejudice. Men who were antagonistic toward minority groups, on the whole, showed more fierce protest against their own sexual passivity, semi-impotence, or homosexual trends. The protest took the form of exaggerated toughness and hostility. These individuals commited more crimes of sexual nature than did those who were sexually more secure. And the pseudomasculinity of the former group made them more hostile toward minorities.
>
> "Again, a male who is dissatisfied with his own marriage may grow envious when he hears rumors of Negro sexual prowess and license. He may also resent and fear the approach Negroes might make to white women who are potentially his."[9]

There is revulsion, rage, guilt, fear and suspected attraction in the emotion-laden question often raised in race relations discussions: 'Would you like your daughter (sister) to marry one?'

A Black psychoanalyst, writing on the blockages to transference processes requisite to successful therapy, blockages which occur when patients are white and therapist is a Black, says:

> "The meaning of 'Negro' (Black), in a magic, symbolic sense, usually associated with 'evil,' 'badness,' 'inferiority,' may constitute an image which can be interjected into the patient's ego only with great difficulty. 'Negro' may equal 'Devil.' On the other hand, it may equal 'Eros'—blind, emotional abandon—and, therefore an image which some patients may accept more easily."[10]

The myths of the American caste system about Negroes—that they are primitive, emotional, musical, carefree, irresponsible, amoral, criminal, dangerous, unclean, repulsive, sexually extra-potent, that Negro men lust especially for white women—all this and more is carried by the folkways to children and youth. What is actually first conveyed is a feeling of rejection and revulsion. Many white children are early conditioned to the culturally standard shudder-reaction toward Negroes. As they mature, adults, peers, and the milieu fill them in on the myth-content.

White children, watching TV, are apt to feel, just as many adults, that Negroes are engaged much of the time in rioting, burning, and looting. Mass media, especially the pictorial content of the media, emphasize tensions, conflict and violent aspects of the interaction of Negroes and Whites in the contemporary scene. Further, the media are more likely to catch and identify as conflict and violence those actions in which Negroes attempt to oppose or change the system than they are to catch and reflect the repressive actions of the dominant group to maintain the system. This is because White dominance is pervasive, taken for granted, with low visability, built into the normal flow of institutional and bureaucratic systems, therefore usually accomplished with non-violence, backed, however, with great institutional power and force; while Black objection, insistence and militancy is new, identifiable, visable, abnormal, shocking and fearful, thus newsworthy.

IV. CHILDREN SENSE THE DEEP ATTITUDES

In homes of some gentility crude emotions and stereotypes concerning Negroes are out of countenance, but through countless clues the patterns of rejection and avoidance are well taught to children.

Gilbert Gross, son of a Christian minister who was active in civil rights causes, notes that no Negro ever sat at their table and the children knew "without ever one word said about it" that only the most casual relationships on their part with Negroes were acceptable.[11]

There is evidence that unless the home environment is especially effective in countering impressions from the milieu, or unless reality teaching and counter-stereotyping of the home is reinforced by positive experience with Negro children, or with peer groups which have positive attitudes, the child will make his own the attitudes of his general environment.

A graduate student who is a minister reported to me (April, 1967) the essence of his conversation with his 13-year-old son as they drove home from one of a series of dialogue meetings with Negro adults and youth.

> Father: "What did you think of the program?"
> Son: "It sure opened my eyes."
> Father: "How do you mean?"
> Son: "Well, I've felt that Negroes were just no good. But now that I've met these kids, I've changed my mind."
> Father: "Where did you get the idea that Negroes were no good?"
> Son: "Just about everywhere. My friends think so. Most everybody thinks so. It's just the way people feel. I just know that I felt that way."

Counter elements of the culture (economic, political, religious, moral, scientific, scholastic) are cutting into these myths, and are now aided by the active forces of Black self-determination and Black Power, but the traditional supports of the caste system are deep-rooted. Since the middle class White culture also requires gentility, politeness, restraint, and dissimulation, basic emotions about Negroes threatening to the self-image or acceptance in the eyes of others, are often repressed or disowned. But they remain dynamic in the personality and indicate their presence in rationalizations, maintenance of social distance, resentment, anger, guilt, anxieties and over-defense.

Gilbert Gross, quoted above, cannot understand why he must go through life carrying an irrational fear of Negroes. He says: "Why am I so condescending? Why so frightened? Why so angry when a Negro touches my life?"

Children sense the deep attitudes, spoken and silent, the real feelings. They see who is honored and who dishonored. They hear tone and intonation, catch nuance and meaning of behavior; sense and adopt attitudes which adults may be unaware they (the adults) carry, or unaware they transfer to children.

Some of the four-year-olds examined by Mary Ellen Goodman (cited above) had learned feelings of rejection such as the following:

> "During these visits (with us) we learned that four-year-olds see and hear and sense much more about race than one would suppose after watching them at school or even at home . . ." "Hostility and rejection appear rather seldom in 'real life' and very often in the testing room. Paul reacts to the brown doll with 'Bad girl—I hit her." Ronald is more vehement. 'I don't like dat boy (Negro in picture) He stinks. I don't like Juny (Negro schoolmate) She's a smelly girl. She hits me." When we show the picture of a Negro man and woman, he is through for the day. He grimaces at the picture and turns his face away. 'I don't want anymore' he says and departs. Carl, referring to the same picture, says, 'I don't like this man and the lady neither.' Joseph is moved to ideas of violence. 'I don't like that man (Negro). I make an axe. I bang his head off.' Roland says, 'I don't like little black boys—nor my mother neither.' Patsy says: 'I hate them that way—I hate black.' David says: 'He's black, he's a stinky little boy, he's a stinker . . .' "

Eleven out of the 46 four-year-old white children with whom Mrs. Goodman was working talked in these terms. About one half of the 46 expressed definite feelings of rejection of Negroes.

The fears many Whites carry are stereotypic, mythological, symbolic, projective, mixed with elements of reality, fanned by publicity of riots, violence, crime and fed by selective perception.

Through the fears of parents, adults, older children and peers, many children learn to be afraid of Negroes long before they ever have an opportunity to have any meaningful contact with them.

It should by no means be overlooked that attitudes toward Negroes are channeled by aspects of contemporary reality even if these aspects are selectively distinguished and especially weighted.

Uprisings in major cities involving incendarism, looting and violence, perceived by most whites as riots against property, law and order, have been an important source of rejective attitudes of Whites toward Negroes.

Crimes of Negroes have been increasingly highlighted as realistic cause for negative attitudes toward all Negroes. "Crime in the streets" has become a major political issue.

Dr. Alvin Rose, (a Negro) Professor of Sociology at Wayne State University, addressing a Northeast Detroit Project Commitment audience of the Catholic Archdiocese, recently received the following as one of a number of written questions: "Can't you understand? We don't run from dislike. We are literally frightened to death of you."

V. THE CONCEPTS AND LANGUAGE OF DOMINANCE

Centuries of white imperialism over darker peoples, over three hundred years of the institution of slavery in this country, and a caste system since the days of Reconstruction, have produced concepts and language forms fitting the needs of the dominant group. These forms play their part in forming the habits of thought of children. There has been generated a mythology of racism, with its sterotypes of primitiveness, amorality and dangerousness.

Among the racist language forms created to sustain white dominance are contrast-terms referring to skin color. Racism assimilates objective color terms and transforms them into terms of contrast, of super-ordination and subordination. In racist language there are no degrees, one is either "black" or "white". Further, racism invests skin color with an enormous and completely irrational salience in our culture.

If one observes with an eye for color the various hues of lighter-skinned peoples, one sees that these cover quite a range and are clearly not white. Instead of white, the lighter-skinned people could much more accurately be called: The olive-pink-yellow-beige-tan-maroon-grey-browns, or some such.

But the child is forced by the language forms to adopt the ultimate contrast; the blacks vs. the whites.

The term "Black" referring to darker skinned groups of African background, formerly derogatory in common folkways, now is being given new meaning and currency. If one uses "colored" he is reduced to nonsense, for all human groups are colored. Further, this term dates from an era of genteel manners when parlance required a term not so crude as "nigger" and not so dignified and formal as "Negro". Just as "black" and "white" emphasize color differences, so does "colored" as a reference term. The best our language will now do is Negro or Black or Afro-American; and Caucasian or White or clumsy circumlocutions. The term 'race' has been so long misused by ideological movements, propogandists, and racists that it should be abandoned by all persons seeking clarity and objective communication.

The colloquialisms of dominance contain many sayings such as "free, white, and twenty-one," "nigger in the woodpile," "work like a nigger," and such terms as "coon," "shine," and "darky" to refer to Negroes. There is also the custom in a caste-ridden society to refer to Negro men as "boys" One presently hears in bigoted White groups the term "animals" referring to Blacks There is also a large stock of jokes, stories, anecdotes depending for their humor on feeding feelings of White dominance.

There is a large vocabulary, ranging from genteel to coarse to vulgar, expressing racial difference and derogation. These language patterns constitute powerful directives of the ways members of the majority group think about the communicate concerning Blacks. Language forms used by Blacks to express derogation, contempt, and social distance from Whites are also common

VI. DISTORTED PERCEPTION OF REALITY

White-centeredness is not the reality of the modern world, but the ghettoized white child is under the illusion that it is It is thus impossible for him to deal naturally or adequately with the universe of human and social relationships. He learns through selective perception to see, in a white world, what promotes or threatens his ego plans and ego investments, and to (a) react selectively to the stimuli offered, (b) search out needed stimuli. He learns salience, that is, what portions of his environment are important to him and to which he must react. He learns in his white world the importance of reacting in certain ways to skin color.

It was one of the conclusions of the group of social scientists who signed the "Appendix to Appelants' Briefs" in Brown vs Board of Education, 1954, that for both majority and minority groups "segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality."

Children who develop this pattern learn dependence on a psychological and moral crutch which inhibits and deforms the growth of a healthy and responsible personality.

VII. INNER CONFLICT, CONFUSION; IMPAIRMENT OF CHARACTER

The central point of Gunnar Myrdal's analysis of American race relations from which it derives its title "an American Dilemma," is the deep cultural, and psychological conflict among the American people: of American ideals of equality, freedom, God-given dignity of the individual, inalienable rights, on the one hand, against practices of discrimination, humiliation, insult, denial of opportunity to Negroes and others in a caste society, on the other.[12]

As white children mature in our society, some become aware of this conflict and attempt, in one way or another, to deal with it Many become aware, for example, of the lack of fulfillment of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag: " . . one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Many white children are taught two differing standards of behavior: kindness, friendliness, respect, trust, care for the feelings of others, courtesy, fairness, decency, and justice; but in the case of Negroes, and perhaps other minorities, they are taught dissiumulation, superiority, avoidance, and the acceptance of caste arrangements.

Gordon and Roche,writing on the harm that segregation does to Whites, state that:

> "On the one hand a person is taught that equal treatment for all persons and the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God are the values by which to guide conduct. On the other hand, he is exposed to forces which dictate behavior patterns of hostility, superiority, and avoidance toward certain minority groups.

This provides a setting for internal conflict, tension, the feelings of guilt. While it cannot, in the present state of our knowlege, be safely asserted that all prejudiced majority persons in the United States experience this inner conflict, it is entirely likely that at various levels of awareness and consciousness, many do."[13]

Pointing to the moral aspects of this situation, Gordon and Roche say:

"The gap between creed and deed in American life with regard to racial and other forms of group discrimination constitutes a weakening of the moral tone of America and doubtless contributes to the flabbiness of moral codes in other important areas . . . The consequences of this "American Dilemma" are that American life functions in the constant shadow of a patent evasion of a major moral imperative. The child growing up in such a culture is faced with the perpetual reminder that creeds are one thing, deeds another; and that the adult world, to a large degree, countenances this hypocrisy."

Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies of New York University, says that we may be teaching our children to hide from both people and problems:

"More and more city neighborhoods and suburbs are becoming so segregated that a child can grow up in either without any real contact with children of different racial, religious or social backgrounds.

Do we parents want to teach our children how to hide respectably from those who are different from ourselves? . . . But unless we can develop more authentic values 'the home in the country with grass under our feet' may actually deprive our children of as good as chance as we had. It is a foregone conclusion that they will not get a better chance if the major thing they are taught is to flee from encounters with those who are different. It will be extremely difficult for them to move heroically in this space age, if we supply them with a ghetto mentality." [14]

VIII. DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN, PRODUCTS OF WHITE SEGREGATION

Whites whose minds and feelings have been produced in ghettoized ways of living are quite likely to experience Negroes (outside of traditional roles) with a sense of resentment, a feeling of discord, a sense of dissonance, like a familiar pattern disarranged. These people are seriously handicapped in their ability to react to Negroes as persons, to interact with naturalness and spontaneity, without anxiety, fear or guilt. They feel at best in a strange and unnatural situation, experience considerable discomfort, and desire, consciously or unconsciously, that the pattern reverts to the familiar, proper and the "natural."

Children who develop in this way are robbed of opportunities for emotional and intellectual growth, are limited in basic development of the self so that they cannot accept darker pigmented people. Such persons are severely handicapped in a complex, interactive, multi-ethnic world, undergoing inter-group tension and conflict.

Not only is the ghettoized white child handicapped in accepting and interacting with those different from himself, but he is seriously disadvantaged in recognizing and in dealing with some of the most basic issues of his society in a real world.

IX. ESCAPE FROM A GHETTOIZED WORLD

If children are to have attitudes and behavior different from the general culture they will have to be reared in a subculture of equality. The home itself, if it is strong and positive enough and with its resources, can furnish such a sub-culture. However, the child's position is much more solid and secure if there are some peer groups, some adult groups and the school which reinforce the home in the behaviors and the folkways of equality. For the the child can enter into relationships with Negro children and adults much more naturally as a matter of course. These groups furnish valuable support against the general culture norms, definitions and ways.

It is not enough that parents do not indulge in racist ideas or expressions in the home. It is not nearly enough that parents do not indulge in racist ideas or expressions in the home. The external culture and the peer group folkways are vigorous and demanding. In many American homes, although there may be no crude or overt racism, there is a conscious and unconscious acceptance of racist attitudes and institutional forms so that through their life style the parents teach aloofness from Blacks, social distance and superiority.

Children should see their parents acting toward Blacks as they see them acting toward Whites. This is not easy to achieve in our present divided society but it can be done. We are led to believe, by emphasis on tensions and violence, that mutually satisfying and constructive relationships between Blacks and Whites are much more rare than is really the case.

A basic step for White parents is involvement in one or more organizations dedicated to building equality of opportunity in an important aspect of our society, such as employment, education, housing, health and welfare, law and justice, and equality of treatment in police procedures and behaviors.

Children discover the real values of parents. To be morally authentic in a racist society means to be a dissenter from common ideas and folkways; it means to be engaged in some way in the struggle to move the society away from racism. It is naive, irresponsible and escapist to feel that if one personally does not exploit Negroes (many whites are so habituated that they do not know when they are engaging in systematic exploitive relationships with Negroes) and if one treats Negroes one meets with courtesy (special guardedness), he is not a part of a racist system. It is Whites as a group who enforce the repressive outrages of the racist system and every White, especially those in middle and upper class positions, because they have more political and economic power, should be actively involved in destroying racist arrangements, practices, exclusions, double standards, folkways and institutions, should be actively involved in destroying racist arrangements, practices, exclusions, double standards, folkways and institutions, should be actively involved in building the conditons of equality.

Intergroup relations theory has stated, in the past, that it is beneficial to healthy personality growth for children to have acquaintances, companions and friends across group lines. But from the point of view of many Negro parents the issue is by no means so simple.

Increasing numbers of Negro parents are determined to raise their children with feelings of full dignity and worth for blackness, black people, black past, and black future. There is considerable difference of opinion and variety of practice in the attempts to achieve this goal. Some Negro parents place emphasis on throwing off every vestige of dependence on white standards, influence, or domination as the basis for the self respect of their children. These parents will not subject their children to experiences which are likely to implant or

strengthen in a child the feeling that in order to accept himself he must be accepted by Whites. They are wary of experiences which might make their children feel in any way psychologically dependent on what Whites do or do not do, accept or not accept.

Negroes know that the White world is in general permeated by racism, that it generates devaluation and rejection of Negroes. Some areas and pockets of the White culture are relatively free of this influence, but such areas are sharply circumscribed, and are often unreliable, shifting without warning.

A growing number of Negro parents are wary of going out of their way to expose their children to subgroups of the white majority. They are increasingly demanding change, for example, in school cirricula through which their children have been exposed to a white version of history, literature, politics, economics, art, and social studies. Negro parents support school integration resulting from open residential patterns and they resist efforts to gerry-mander school districts to segregate Negro children.

They also fully support the necessity to dismantle the system of legally structured school segregation. This is a matter of basic human dignity.

Although it is possible that black children may risk some security of self image through contacts with Whites, it is also quite possible that black children can gain a great deal of fundamental security through equal-status contacts with white children and adults. These contacts must be conducted in mutual respect, involve mutual effort, and be a source of mutual satisfaction.

Parents in white areas and in suburbs should see to it that administrative and teaching staffs are integrated. Negro staff members can be engaged if they are convinced they will be judged as professionals and not pre-judged through stereotypes.

White children need books and stories in the home which are not white-centered and which reflect the heterogeneity of America and of the world.

Administrators and teachers should see to it that text books and teaching materials reflect the reality of a multi-group world, that history and social studies texts contain the realities of Indian-White relationships, of Negro-White relationships in the history of the American people, and materials on other minorities, ethnic and racial. Literature, art, and music courses and materials should contain representative contributions of Black poets, authors, artists and composers. Courses and materials in science and medicine should note the contribution of Negroes. Committees charged with reviewing materials and recommending new texts and materials should be integrated racially, religiously, ethnically.

A parent in a suburb recounts that she was shocked when her seven year old pointed to a Negro on TV and said, "That's a bad man, I don't like him." He made rejective remarks about other Negroes he saw on TV no matter what their role or how briefly they appeared. Among the things she decided to do was to supply him with some good books showing Negroes in a variety of roles. When she went to the library in her suburb to ask for such books for children, the librarian was at a loss. Finally, the librarian found a copy of "Little Black Sambo" which she offered. (For those not familiar with this small, vividly illustrated little book, which, a few years ago was quite popular with white parents and children, it is a benignly stereotyped Aunt Jemimah type story of Little Black Sambo who goes for a stroll in the jungle proudly outfitted in his beautiful new purple jacket, bright yellow walking shorts and carrying a green umbrella. Tigers chase him around a tree so fast that they turn to butter, which his Mammy immediately uses to fry huge stacks of pancakes which the whole family enjoys.) Despite the repeated disclosure of the damage done by such White-fantasied, stereotyped impressions of good fun for children, many librarians and others haven't gotten

the message. Indeed, many can read the above book and still be at a genuine loss as to what is so bad about such an innocent story.

This points to still another task of digging out from the White ghetto outlook and indicates what must be done to aid children to break out of the white cocoon and into the world of real people.

Children still reared in the folkways of the rightness of whiteness will move in a cherry orchard of ghost figures, playing roles fast passing from the stage of history.

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